/52 cont'd/

104
773

allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying Rāgi, his fangs /talons?/ piercing her breast. /Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

539
831

A young man, Feng-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-mei-kouo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat: This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rtshié; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

/53 cont'd/

539 831 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes her big hairpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-[illegible]. (1)

[71]

1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Études Asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"...a third-century Chinese poem by d'Ardrousseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by C. Cordier.

585 533 539 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

/120 cont'd/

M 675 608 an attempt will be made to demand some kind of compensation from the son-in-law, and the affair will be ended.

The conclusion of the chapter will thus be that we are here in the presence of a deformation of the practice of spending a lifetime, on the part of the son-in-law, in the family of his parents-in-law, for the purpose of obtaining their daughter in marriage.

Mo HM 608 Have the T'ou-jen ever practiced this custom in all its fullness? In principle that is not impossible, since one still sees the Manchu practice it as such today, even while having a patriarchal system and paternal succession. In addition, we know that the Mongols, racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, formerly used to follow this custom and that they still practice it. (1) Next, it is very curious to ascertain how

HM [606]

1. Vladimirtsov, Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 87: (Yesugey with his son Temuchin (future Ghingis Khan) goes to ask in marriage for the latter Börte, daughter of Dai-se-chen.) The proposal was accepted, Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his remount horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of future son-in-law. This, according to the Mongol custom, definitely confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen /cited in English, with introductory sentence in French in parentheses/.

the T'ou-jen easily adopt it again in all its purity as soon as they find themselves again in a place where it is practiced.

M 361 831 The subprefecture of Koei-tê, situated two days' journey to the south of Sining on the shores of the Yellow River in the middle of Tibetan territory, forming there a prosperous Chinese-T'ou-jen oasis, has for a long time been the place of refuge for T'ou-jen who fled with someone else's wife with the intention of never returning to their

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin.' Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
331 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no
longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where
the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they con-
tinue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a
period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the
customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part,
and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that
the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-
jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not
count there; that there are women there who themselves send away
their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one
husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan
178 customs.
608
[177] How must one explain the deformation of the practice of husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is
[622] thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under sdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow [831 302 588] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[231 cont.]
776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgĕre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolġuę dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieńgĕrni amudadzi, nigĕ nisĕni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). -- The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn tieńgĕrde fdzĕ bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

PAGE

Burying of the dead 147
Confucianist burial of Monguors 148
Incineration of lamas 148
Funeral of the shamans 148

XIV. Cult of Heaven 149
The meaning of the formula "Heaven and all the spirits" 149
Behavior of the Monguors towards Heaven 150
Prayers and offerings for Heaven 151
Cult of Heaven among the Turkic-Mongols 152
Impact of foreign religions in Central Asia 154
Impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols 154
Nestorianism among the Monguors 155
Conclusion 156

XV. Religion and the cohesion of the clan 157

XVI. Conclusion 159
Policy of China toward Lamaism 159
Failure of Lamaism to transform the Monguor society .. 160

Index 163

Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[3] of the village all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their courtyards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, listeners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the entrance of evil influences.

[p. 58]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to the monastery without looking back. A round mark is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so marked to enter any monastery.

792 627 694 681 [685]

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her death. They fled the same night. The whole village of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at court. The whole country was bursting with righteous indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the lamasery.

792 684 682 [627]

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries.

792 511

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very well and the texts prove it.[28]

792 831

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the

[185]

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p. 72(A)]

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations.

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living.

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29]

[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible."

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the confused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the appointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a shaman is asked at what time and why men started seducing women, and women started eloping? An interesting sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most important. The shamans explain that the spirits in the temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that they may be able to protect the village against hail. Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[9] The present rite takes the place of the

[9] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

[p. 111 (A)]